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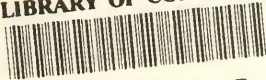
CONCERNING
THE BOYSON ESSAY
AND ITS DEFENCE

Prepared, 1909
by
MORGAN POITIAUX ROBINSON,
Richmond, Va.
At the Request, and under the Supervision,
of
MRS. J. ENDERS ROBINSON,
Historian-General
of the
UNITED DAUGHTERS OF THE CONFEDERACY
Richmond, Va.

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EXPLANATORY

The U. D. C. Prize of \$100 was established at Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York City, for the purpose of encouraging prospective teachers to investigate the sources of Confederate History.

For the year 1908, the U. D. C's. Committee of Judges was composed of Dr. Edwin A. Alderman, Virginia, *chairman*; Dr. John H. Finley, New York, and Dr. C. Alphonso Smith, North Carolina. This Committee awarded the prize for that year to the paper entitled, *Robert E. Lee—A Present Estimate*, by Miss Christine Boyson, of Minnesota, which appeared in the Confederate Veteran, December, 1908. ✓

There were many protests against this award, and it seemed proper that this office should issue some statement upon the subject, but stress of work occasioned by editing the pamphlet, "The Restoration of the Name of Jefferson Davis," forced me to delegate the preparation of this monograph, as is stated upon the title page. In addition to this, I desire to acknowledge the services of Mr. William L. Phillips, editor of the *Sigma Phi Epsilon Journal*, of Washington, D. C., who aided in checking out and verifying the percentages and proportions.

In view of the fact that there has been criticism of many U. D. C. Chapters, because they criticised adversely the award of the prize to the Boyson Essay, the Historian-General of the United Daughters of the Confederacy feels no hesitancy in offering this analytical discussion of the essay and its defence for the specific purpose of showing that the various loyal Chapters were fully justified in their adverse criticism of the essay and of the judges who made the award.

Copies of this monograph may be obtained at the following rates:

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Address Mrs. J. Enders Robinson, Historian-General, U. D. C., No. 113 Third Street, South, Richmond, Va.

CONCERNING THE BOYSON ESSAY AND ITS DEFENCE*

THE ESSAY.

Well-informed persons have never seriously denied that the South, prior to the War between the States, contained a higher percentage of illiteracy than most of the other sections of the country, and than the country as a whole, the reasons for this higher percentage being the plantation system, which practically prevented an elaborate development of the free school, because miles of forest oftentimes separated the plantations; the slave, whose presence was a greater menace if he could read the inflammatory and incendiary propaganda of the abolitionists; and the still more potent fact that, primarily, the slave was not a human being, but was recognized as a chattel by the Constitution of the United States (Art. I, Secs. 2 and 9; Art. IV, Sec. 2), as well as by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States (Prigg v. Penn., 16 Peters, 611), in which case Mr. Justice Story said:

"Historically, it is well known that the object of this clause [Art. IV, Sec. 2] was to secure to the citizens of the slaveholding States the complete right and title of ownership in their slaves, as **property** in every State in the Union into which they might escape from the State where they were held in servitude. The full recognition of this right and title was indispensable to the security of this species of **property** in all the slaveholding States; and, in-

*In the following statements, the groupings of the various States and Territories are those laid down in the United States Census of 1860, Agriculture, XLVII-XLIX, at which time the United States was officially divided as follows:

New England States—Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Vermont—6. Middle States—New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and District of Columbia—6. Southern States (THE SOUTH)—Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas, Mississippi, Arkansas, Tennessee and Florida—11. Western States—Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Kentucky, Kansas, and Nebraska—11. Pacific States—California, Oregon, New Mexico, Washington and Utah—5. Unassigned to any grouping—Colorado, Dakota and Nevada—3.

For the purposes of this discussion, the territorial areas of the several sections, as given above, have been retained as constant quantities throughout, except in the cases of Arizona, Idaho, Indian Territory (with Oklahoma), Montana and Wyoming, mostly formed since 1860, each of which is composed either of territory other than that included in the above groupings or else of parts of **several** of the States included in these groupings, and so the population, etc., of any of these five States in the Census of 1900 could not be justly credited to any **single one** of the States named in the groupings given above.

deed, was so vital to the preservation of their domestic interests and institutions that it cannot be doubted that it constituted a **fundamental article**, without the adoption of which the **Union could not have been formed**. Its true design was to guard against the doctrines and principles prevalent in the non-slaveholding States, by preventing them from intermeddling with, or obstructing, or abolishing the rights of the owners of slaves."

And this decision of Mr. Justice Story seems not extraordinary when we consider the fact that every one of the original thirteen States except Pennsylvania was slaveholding in 1787, when the present Constitution of the United States was adopted.

However, with all its illiteracy and the reasons therefor—which latter are really immaterial so far as the present discussion is concerned— not until the recent utterances of Miss Boyson and her learned and able judges, had we heard of so flagrant departure from the facts of Southern History as is contained in the following quotation from her essay, entitled, "*Robert E. Lee—A Present Estimate*:"

"*Intellectually, the South was practically dead. Most of her people were densely ignorant*; hence the great religious and educational movements which in the North had built a church and a schoolhouse at every cross-road, had *swept by them unheeded*." (Italics ours.)

Inasmuch as this "intellectually dead" and "densely ignorant" condition seems to have arisen because "the great religious and educational movements, which in the North had built a church and a schoolhouse at every crossroads," had failed to leave the accustomed church and schoolhouse at every crossroads in the South, it appears desirable to ascertain from history what the condition of the South really was so far as churches and schools were concerned. And since all things are comparative—as a building is tall by comparison with buildings which are not so tall—so the South must have been "densely ignorant" by comparison with some section which was simply "ignorant"—must have been "intellectually dead" by comparison with some section which was "intellectually dying", so to speak.

Miss Boyson says, "To understand what this social order [of which Lee was the finest representative] was, one need *but glance* at the conditions of the South *at the opening of the war*." (Italics ours.) Miss Boyson and her judges seem to have "but glanced," but we have made a deeper investigation of the conditions of the South, before, "at the opening of," and after the war, in order to get a more comprehensive and correct view of the subject than they seem to have acquired in their *dilettante* effort to chronicle Confederate history.

It will be noted that no sources have been utilized in the discussion of the "intellectually dead" and "densely ignorant" condition of the South, other than the Census of the United States for 1840,* 1850, 1860 and 1900.

*All data for 1840 are taken from the figures for that year, as given in the Census for 1850. This is because the edition of 1840 contained numerous errors, which were corrected in the edition of 1850, as stated in a note on the back of the title page of this later edition.

three of which were printed prior to the War Between the States and one after it, while all were published by the United States Government; so, if there be any presumption of partiality, it must necessarily be *against* the South. It should be noted further that no Confederate or Southern source or authority has been used in the preparation of this paper.

CHURCHES.

There are no church statistics given in the United States Census of 1840, nor in that of 1900, so the nearest we can get to the present religious conditions of the country is the Census of 1890.*

However, from the Census of 1850, combine Table 1 (ix) for population and Table XXXVIII (lvii) for churches; from the Census of 1860, combine Population (iv) and Miscellaneous (p. 501) for churches; from the Census of 1890, combine Table 1 (pp. 2-3 of Part 1 of Vol. I) for population and Table 2 (pp. 8-13 of Vol. VIII), and we get the following tabulated statements:

(See Table "A" and "B" on following page.)

From Tables "A" and "B" it will be seen that, while the United States had an increase of 41.9 per cent. of churches for an increase of 35.6 per cent. of population between the years 1850 and 1860, and New England had an increase of 14.9 per cent. of churches for an increase of 14.9 per cent. of population, yet the "intellectually dead" and "densely ignorant" South had an increase of 37.4 per cent. of churches for an increase of 25.1 per cent. of population for that same period. Again we see that, while the United States had an increase of 162.2 per cent. of churches for an increase of 98.2 per cent. of population between the years 1860 and 1890, and New England had an increase of 31.2 per cent. of churches for an increase of 50.0 per cent. of population, yet this same South had an increase of 213.1 per cent. of churches for an increase of 80.9 per cent. of population during these three decades.

However, as percentages are confusing to some persons, we have added the following table, which will doubtless make the subject a bit clearer for

***Census Bulletin, No. 103** (September, 1909) gives the church statistics for 1906, but, as we have no population data for that year and no church data for 1900, we must fall back to 1890 before we get to a point where we can compare church and population data of the same year.

TABLE "A",—INCREASE OF POPULATION.*

	1850		1860		1890	
	Population		Population	Increase	Population	Increase
New England	2,728,116		3,135,283	407,167 or 14.9%	4,700,749	1,565,466 or 50.0%
Middle States	6,624,988		8,333,330	1,708,342 or 25.8%	14,147,495	5,814,165 or 69.8%
THE SOUTH	7,273,954		9,103,332	1,829,378 or 25.1%	16,469,492	7,366,160 or 80.9%
Western States	6,386,000		10,247,563	3,861,563 or 60.5%	23,729,469	13,481,906 or 131.6%
Pacific States	178,818		577,842	399,024 or 223.1%	2,259,395	1,681,553 or 291.0%
Unassigned			45,971	45,971 or	1,000,087	954,116 or 2075.4%
United States	23,191,876		31,443,321	8,251,445 or 35.6%	62,306,687	30,863,366 or 98.2%

TABLE "B",—INCREASE OF CHURCHES.

	1850		1860		1890	
	Churches		Churches	Increase	Churches	Increase
New England	4,607		5,293	686 or 14.9%	6,937	1,644 or 31.2%
Middle States	9,648		13,051	3,403 or 35.3%	22,745	9,694 or 74.3%
THE SOUTH	12,811		17,595	4,784 or 37.4%	55,089	37,494 or 213.1%
Western States	10,876		17,569	6,693 or 61.5%	51,923	34,354 or 195.5%
Pacific States	119		501	382 or 321.8%	3,290	2,789 or 556.7%
Unassigned .....			.....	.... ..	1,613	1,613 or
United States	38,061		54,009	15,948 or 41.9%	141,597	87,588 or 162.2%

* Note that the total population and the total churches, with the total percentages thereof, do not check out to these totals for 1890, as is also the case in following tables for 1900. This is because the United States in 1890 and 1900 contained a great deal more territory than is contained in the groupings of 1860; but these totals do check out to the 1890 and 1900 totals, when allowance is made for this additional territory.

In working out the proportions and percentages for churches, all the elements of population have been included,—as slaves and Indians,—for it must be conceded that they had souls, though it will be noted that a different rule obtains for working out the percentage for schools.

Wherever extended fractions occur in results, the fraction has been rejected or one point added, according as the fraction was less or greater than one half.

The above general notes apply to all following tables.

In "The South" of 1890 and 1900 (below) the population, etc., of Virginia includes that of West Virginia, as the latter State was a part of Virginia in 1860; so, also, Dakota of these later dates contains the population, etc., of the two Dakotas.

Table "B" pre-supposes that not a single church in The South was destroyed during the War between the States, for we have no data on this point, and this presumption becomes necessary for the sake of a fair comparison.

some of our readers. Based upon the references for Tables "A" and "B," above, we find that we get the proportions set forth in the following table:

(See Table "C" on following page.)

From these figures, taken from the several issues of the United States Census indicated, we see that history does not bear out the statements of the essayist and her judges, so far as churches were concerned, for the South of 1850, with less than one-third of the population of the whole country, had *more* than one-third the churches of the whole country, or one church for every 568 of her population, while New England had one church for every 592 of her population, and the United States at this time had one church for every 609 of her population. The figures also show that the South of 1860, with nearly one-third of the population of the whole country, had nearly one-third the churches of the whole country, or a church for every 517 of her population, while New England still had one church for every 592 of her population—the increase of churches and population having been the same during this decade—and the United States had one church for every 582 of her population. Furthermore, it will be noted that not only did the South, in both 1850 and 1860, have more churches to her population than the country as a whole, but more than did any other section of the country.

It will be seen that in these ten years (1850-1860), while the United States so increased the number of its churches that it reduced the ratio of churches to population from 609 to 582, or 27 points, and New England retained in 1860 its ratio of 1850 (592), yet the "intellectually dead" and "densely ignorant" South so increased the number of its churches in this period that it reduced the ratio of churches to population from 568 to 517, or 51 points. In other words, the "intellectually dead" and "densely ignorant" South of 1850 had more churches to its population than did the United States or any other section of it in 1860, thus being at that date ten years ahead of its time so far as churches were concerned.

But probably the most remarkable item of all is to be found in the figures of 1890, which is little less than astounding. These figures show that in that year—twenty-five years after the scourge of battle had left the South little less than a desolation and a wilderness—this same battle-scarred, poverty-stricken, "intellectually dead" and "densely ignorant" South, with a bit more than one-fourth of the population of the whole country (26.43 per cent.), had 55,089 of the 141,597 churches in the territory covered by the groupings of 1860, or 38.9 per cent.*

*It is an interesting sidelight upon this discussion to refer to **Census Bulletin No. 103** (September, 1909), where we find (pp. 56-7) that in 1906 the 188,843 churches in the territory covered by the groupings of 1860 were distributed as follows: New England, 8,143 or 4.31 per cent.; Middle States, 28,404 or 15.04 per cent.; THE SOUTH, 77,062 or 40.81 per cent.; Western States, 65,364 or 34.61 per cent.; Pacific States, 6,061 or 3.21 per cent., and Unassigned, 3,809 or 2.02 per cent.

TABLE "C,"—CHURCHES TO POPULATION.

	1850		1860		Chur- ches	1 to	% of all	1 to	% of all.
	Population	Churches	Population	% of all					
New England	2,728,116	4,607	3,135,283	12.10%	5,293	592	9.80%	582	9.80%
Middle States	6,624,988	9,648	8,333,330	25.35%	13,051	639	24.16%	639	24.16%
THE SOUTH	7,273,954	12,811	9,103,332	33.66%	17,595	517	32.58%	517	32.58%
Western States	6,386,000	10,876	10,247,563	28.58%	17,569	583	32.53%	583	32.53%
Pacific States	178,818	119	577,842	.31%	501	1,153	.93%	1,153	.93%
Unassigned .....	.....	.....	45,971	.....	.....	....	.....	....	.....
United States	23,191,876	38,061	31,443,321	100.00%	54,009	582	100.00%	582	100.00%

	1890		Chur- ches	1 to	% of all.
	Population	Churches			
New England	4,700,749	6,937	678	4.90%	4.90%
Middle States	14,147,495	22,745	622	16.06%	16.06%
THE SOUTH	16,469,492	55,089	299	36.91%	36.91%
Western States	23,729,469	51,923	457	36.67%	36.67%
Pacific States	2,259,395	3,290	687	2.32%	2.32%
Unassigned	1,000,087	1,613	620	1.14%	1.14%
United States	62,306,687	141,597	440	100.00%	100.00%

Here it will be seen that in these thirty years (1860-1890), while the United States so increased the number of its churches that it reduced the ratio of churches to population from 582 to 440, or 142 points, and New England increased her ratio from 592 to 678, or 86 points, yet the poverty-stricken, "intellectually dead" and "densely ignorant" South so increased the number of her churches that her ratio was reduced from 517 to 299, or 218 points. Furthermore, the figures show that at both of these dates (1860 and 1890), this same South had more churches to its population than any other section and than the United States as a whole.

This develops the fact that the "intellectually dead" and "densely ignorant" South of 1860 had more churches to its population than the country as a whole, or any other section of it at that time; also that in 1860 it not only had more than any other section in 1890 (except the Western States), but more than the country as a whole in 1890, except for its own large percentage. In other words, the South of 1860 was more than thirty years ahead of its time, so far as furnishing churches for its population was concerned.

So much for churches. We will now turn our attention to an investigation of the schools of the South.

SCHOOLS.*

In this discussion of educational institutions, as shown by the *Censuses of 1840, 1850 and 1860*, and the *Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1900*, the method of these issues has been followed in that the number of schools, as compared with the total *free* population of each section, for we find no returns for slaves attending school.† It should be noted that the figures and results take no account of the number of tutors and governesses or of the number of "home schools" (all of them widely popular educational methods of the Old South); nor do they undertake to embrace the number of Southern students who were being educated abroad (also a popular method in the Old South), and this because we have no data on these several points, although tutors and governesses are evidently classified under the general head of "teachers" in the lists of occupation.

*As in the case of churches (above), it is presumed that **not a single school of any kind** in The South was destroyed during the War between the States, which presumption is necessary, as we have no data on that point.

†While there will doubtless be some adverse criticism of thus eliminating the whole of the slave population, when ascertaining the school percentages, yet we anticipate no objections on the part of the Committee of Judges, since their chairman evidently holds the same opinion as to the status of the slave as we do, for reference to **Facts About Southern Educational Progress, 1905**, p. 3, will show where "The Campaign Committee of the Southern Education Board" (of which the chairman of the Judges was a member) gives its approval to this same method of eliminating the slaves for the purpose of ascertaining the percentages of illiteracy, as can be seen by reference to pp. 43 and 45 of that pamphlet.

As stated, the number of educational institutions is contrasted with the total *free* population instead of the usual method of comparing the number of students returned with the *free* population of the States to which they are credited. This because, not only would Virginia (for example), an acknowledged school centre, get the credit for students who were not her own sons, and so would not enrich her intellectually, but at the same time the States to which these students really belonged would get no credit at all for their sons who were actually students, although in other States, and would ultimately add to the intelligence of the mother State.

This method is applied to sections in the hope that we are getting a more correct idea of the provision in the matter of educational institutions, which each State felt called upon to make for its educable population. Of course, this provision was to an extent for the educable populations of the other sections which sent their students, but by comparing sections (instead of States) in this manner, the error seems to be reduced to a minimum.

The following tables are based upon these references: For the year 1840, combine (from the *Census of 1850*) Table I (ix) for population and Table XLIV (lxi) for schools; from the *Census of 1850*, combine Table I (ix) for population and Table XLII (lx) for schools; from the *Census of 1860*, combine *Population*, pp. 592-5 and *Miscellaneous*, pp. 505-6 for schools; and from the *Census of 1900*, use Table VII (xxii) for population, but this issue of the Census contains no data as to schools—presumably because this is within the province of the Bureau of Education. Therefore the data as to public schools are based upon the *Reports of the Commissioner of Education*, 1900, lxxiii, 1901, lxxxv, and 1902, lxxxi, where we find the “number of buildings used as schoolhouses”—the three *Reports* being necessary to get complete data for 1900. The 1900 data for the second grand division of educational institutions—“academies and other schools”—is to be found in the same *Report* for 1899-1900, 2, p. 2145. The 1900 data for universities and colleges is obtained by eliminating the duplicates, after combining the following tables, taken from the same *Report* for 1899-1900, Vol. 2: Tables 3 (p. 1880); 15 (p. 1892); 19 (p. 1894); 23 (p. 1898); 29 (p. 1904); 31 (p. 1944) 32 (p. 1946); 33 (p. 1954); 9 (p. 1976); 10 (p. 1986); 11 (p. 1992); 1 (p. 2071); and 9 (p. 2079). This combination is necessary because the earlier Censuses include theological, law, medical, military, normal and agricultural schools under the general classification “colleges and universities.”

As the *educable* population differs from that given in Table “A” above—the slaves being eliminated for the reasons already stated—the following table is necessary:

TABLE "D",—INCREASE OF EDUCABLE POPULATION.*

	1840	1850	1860	Increase	Increase
	Population	Population	Population		
New England	2,234,799	2,728,116	3,135,191	493,317 or 22.1%	407,075 or 14.9%
Middle States	5,020,298	6,528,407	8,240,992	1,508,109 or 30.0%	1,712,585 or 26.2%
THE SOUTH	3,430,293	4,464,651	5,579,980	1,034,358 or 30.2%	1,115,329 or 25.0%
Western States	3,890,508	6,087,597	9,896,852	2,197,089 or 56.5%	3,809,255 or 62.6%
Pacific States .....	.....	178,792	513,883‡	178,792 or	335,091 or 87.4%
Unassigned .....	.....	.....	43,710	 or	43,710 or
United States	14,575,898†	19,987,563	27,410,608	5,411,665 or 37.1%	7,423,045 or 37.1%
			1840-1860		
			Population	Increase	
New England	5,592,017	8,865,183 or 78.4%	3,135,191	900,392 or 40.3%	40.3%
Middle States	17,106,175	14,354,485 or 257.3%	8,240,992	3,220,694 or 64.1%	64.1%
THE SOUTH	19,934,465	17,862,610 or 181.5%	5,579,980	2,149,687 or 62.7%	62.7%
Western States	27,759,462	2,374,868 or 462.2%	9,896,852	6,006,344 or 154.4%	154.4%
Pacific States	2,888,751	1,259,041 or 2857.6%	513,883	513,883 or .....	.....
Unassigned	1,302,751	.....	43,710	43,710 or .....	.....
United States	74,583,621	47,173,013 or 172.1%	27,410,608	12,834,710 or 88.1%	88.1%

* This table is used as a basis for population in all following tables.

† 6,100 seamen of the Navy, not credited to any State, are not included.

‡ 34,933 Asiatics of California, counted as whites, are not included, as we have no school attendance data concerning.

TABLE "E",—INCREASE OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

	1840*		1850		1860	
	Public Schools	Increase	Public Schools	Increase	Public Schools	Increase
New England	13,329		14,905	1,576 or 11.8%	15,738	833 or 5.6%
Middle States	17,516		23,243	5,727 or 32.7%	24,964	1,721 or 7.4%
THE SOUTH	5,707		13,605	7,898 or 138.4%	18,020	4,415 or 32.5%
Western States	10,657		29,220	18,563 or 174.2%	48,187	18,967 or 64.9%
Pacific States			18	18 or	971	953 or 5,295.0%
Unassigned			.....	.... or .....	.....	..... or
United States	47,209		80,991	33,782 or 71.6%	107,880	26,889 or 33.5%
	1900		1840-1860		Increase	
Public Schools			Public Schools		Increase	
New England	14,758		980D or 6.2% ^D		15,738	2,409 or 18.1%
Middle States	31,952		6,988 or 28.0%		24,964	7,448 or 42.5%
THE SOUTH	75,022		57,002 or 316.3%		18,020	12,313 or 215.8%
Western States	107,006		58,819 or 122.1%		48,187	37,530 or 352.1%
Pacific States	9,328		8,357 or 88.7%		971	971 or
Unassigned	8,361		8,361 or .....		.....	..... or
United States	246,427		138,547 or 129.9%		107,880	60,671 or 128.5%

* In the **Census of 1840**, the classification of "Primary Schools" was applied to what are at present known as "Public Schools" (See note a, pp. 2-3, Part II, Compendium, **Census of 1890**).

† "D" in Increase columns indicates **decrease**.

Tables "D" and "E" show that, while the United States had an increase of 71.6 per cent. of public schools for an increase of 37.1 per cent. of educable population between 1840 and 1850, and New England had an increase of 11.8 per cent. of public schools for an increase of 22.1 per cent. of educable population during this same period, yet the South had an increase of 138.4 per cent. of public schools for an increase of 30.2 per cent. of educable population; also that between the years 1850 and 1860, while the United States had an increase of 33.2 per cent. of public schools for an increase of 37.1 per cent. of educable population, and New England had an increase of 5.6 per cent. of public schools for an increase of 14.9 per cent. of educable population, yet the South had an increase of 32.5 per cent. of public schools for an increase of 25.0 per cent. of educable population. Between 1860 and 1900 we find that, while the United States had an increase of 129.9 per cent. of public schools for an increase of 172.1 per cent. of educable population, and New England had a decrease of 6.2 per cent. of public schools for an increase of 78.4 per cent. of educable population, yet the poverty-stricken South had an *increase* of 316.3 per cent. of public schools for an increase of 257.3 per cent. of educable population—the freedom of the slaves bringing them into this class.

And finally we see that at the close of the two decades ending 1860, while the United States had an increase of 128.5 per cent. of public schools for an increase of 88.1 per cent. of educable population, and New England had an increase of 18.1 per cent. of public schools for an increase of 40.3 per cent. of educable population, yet the "intellectually dead" and "densely ignorant" South had "at the opening of the war" an increase of 215.8 per cent. of public schools for an increase of 62.7 per cent. of educable population.

Here, however, we will leave the confusing percentages and consider the following proportions, based upon the references already given:

(See Table "F" on following page.)

Here we see that the South of 1840, with less than one-fourth of the educable population of the whole country, had 12.09 per cent. of the public schools of the whole country, or one public school for every 601 of her educable population, while New England had 28.24 per cent. of the public schools, or one school to every 168 of her educable population, and the United States had one to every 309; in 1850 the United States had one to every 247, and New England had one to every 183, while the South had one to every 328; in 1860, the United States had one to every 254, and New England had one to every 199, while the South had one to every 310; and in 1900, the United States had one to every 302, and New England had one to every 379, while the South had one to every 266.

It will be seen that in the first decade (1840-1850), while the United States so increased the number of its public schools that it reduced the ratio of these schools to educable population from 309 to 247, or 62 points, and New England increased its ratio from 168 to 183, or 15 points, yet the South *decreased* its ratio from 601 to 328, or 273 points; likewise, between

TABLE "F",—PUBLIC SCHOOLS TO EDUCABLE POPULATION.

	1840		1 to	% of all	1850		1 to	% of all
	Population	Public Schools			Population	Public Schools		
New England	2,234,799	13,329	168	28.24%	2,728,116	14,905	183	18.40%
Middle States	5,020,298	17,516	287	37.10%	6,528,407	23,243	281	28.69%
THE SOUTH	3,430,293	5,707	601	12.09%	4,464,651	13,605	328	16.79%
Western States	3,890,508	10,657	365	22.58%	6,087,597	29,220	508	36.98%
Pacific States .....	.....	.....	...	.....	178,792	18	9,933	.03%
Unassigned .....	.....	.....	---	.....	.....	.....	....	.....
United States	14,575,898*	47,209	309	100.00%	19,987,563	80,991	247	99.99%
	1860		1 to	% of all	1900		1 to	% of all
	Population	Public Schools			Population	Public Schools		
New England	3,135,191	15,738	199	14.59%	5,592,017	14,758	379	5.99%
Middle States	8,240,992	24,964	330	23.14%	17,106,175	31,952	504	12.97%
THE SOUTH	5,579,980	18,020	310	16.70%	19,934,465	75,022	266	30.44%
Western States	9,896,852	48,187	205	44.67%	27,759,462	107,006	259	43.42%
Pacific States	513,887†	971	529	.90%	2,888,751	9,328	310	3.78%
Unassigned	43,710	.....	...	.....	1,302,751	8,361	156	3.40%
United States	27,410,608	107,880	254	100.00%	74,583,621	246,427	302	100.00%

* 6,100 sailors of the Navy, not credited to any State in 1840, are omitted.

† 34,923 Asiatics of California, counted as whites in 1860, omitted, as we have no school attendance data for Asiatics.

1850 and 1860, while the United States increased its ratio from 247 to 254, or 7 points, and New England increased its ratio from 183 to 199, or 16 points, yet the South again *decreased* its ratio from 328 to 310, or 18 points.

In the four decades ending 1900, the United States increased its ratio from 254 to 302, or 48 points, and New England increased its ratio from 199 to 379, or 180 points, yet the poverty-stricken South *decreased* its ratio from 310 to 266, or 44 points.

In the period from 1840-1860, the United States decreased its ratio from 309 to 254, or 55 points, and New England increased its ratio from 168 to 199, or 31 points, yet the "intellectually dead" and "densely ignorant" South "at the opening of the war" *decreased* its ratio from 601 to 310, or 291 points.

Furthermore, we see that in 1860 the South had one public school to every 310 of her educable population, and in 1900 the United States had one to every 302; in other words, the South of 1860 had practically the same ratio of public schools to educable population that the United States had in 1900, and so was substantially as well off in this respect in 1860 as the United States was in 1900.

Our next topic is "Academies and Other Schools"—the second general classification of educational institutions. Using Table "D," above, for educable population, we also get the following table from the same references:

(See Table "G" on following page.)

From these tables we see that, while the United States had an increase of 86.1 per cent. of academies for an increase of 37.1 per cent. of educable population between 1840 and 1850, and New England had an increase of 56.3 per cent. of academies for an increase of 22.1 per cent. of educable population, yet the South had an increase of 58.9 per cent. of academies for an increase of 30.2 per cent. of educable population; also that between 1850 and 1860, while the United States had an increase of 14.0 per cent. of academies for an increase of 37.1 per cent. of educable population, and New England had an increase of .03 per cent. of academies for an increase of 14.9 per cent. of educable population, yet the South had an increase of 24.9 per cent. of academies for an increase of 25.0 per cent. of educable population.

From 1860 to 1900 we see that, while the United States had a decrease of 71.6 per cent. of academies for an increase of 172.1 per cent. of educable population, and New England had a decrease of 73.9 per cent. of academies for an increase of 78.4 per cent. of educable population, yet the wrecked and devastated South had a decrease of 73.9 per cent. (the same as New England) for an increase of 257.25 per cent. of educable population—the slaves having become free.

In the two decades just prior to the war (1840-1860) we see that, while the United States had an increase of 112.1 per cent. of academies for an increase of 88.1 per cent. of educable population, and New England had an increase of 56.8 per cent. of academies for an increase of 40.3 per cent. of

TABLE "G",—INCREASE IN ACADEMIES AND OTHER SCHOOLS.

	1840 Academies	1850 Academies	Increase	1860 Academies	Increase*
New England	630	985	355 or 56.3%	988	3 or .03%
Middle States	1,034	1,962	928 or 89.7%	1,929	33D or 1.7 %D
THE SOUTH	1,231	1,957	726 or 58.9%	2,445	488 or 24.9 %
Western States	347	1,079	732 or 210.9%	1,397	319 or 29.6 %
Pacific States	.....	49	49 or	118	68 or 136.7 %
Unassigned	.....	.....	... or	... *	... or
United States	3,242	6,032	2,790 or 86.1%	6,877	845 or 14.0 %
	1900 Academies	Increase*	1840-1860 Academies	Increase	
New England	257	731D or 73.9%D	988	358 or 56.8%	
Middle States	483	1,446D or 74.9%D	1,929	895 or 86.6%	
THE SOUTH	639	1,806D or 73.9%D	2,445	1,214 or 98.6%	
Western States	450	947D or 67.8%D	1,397	1,050 or 302.6%	
Pacific States	112	6D or 5.1%D	118	118 or	
Unassigned	15	15 or .....	....	.... or	
United States	1,956	4,921D or 71.6%D	6,877	3,635 or 112.1%	

* "D" in increase column indicates decrease.

TABLE "H,"—ACADEMIES TO EDUCABLE POPULATION.

	1840			1850			% of all
	Population	Academies	1 to	Population	Academies	1 to	
New England	2,234,799	630	3,547	2,728,116	985	2,770	16.33%
Middle States	5,020,298	1,034	4,855	6,528,407	1,962	3,327	32.53%
THE SOUTH	3,430,293	1,231	2,786	4,464,651	1,957	2,281	32.44%
Western States	3,890,508	347	11,212	6,087,597	1,079	5,642	17.89%
Pacific States .....	.....	.....	.....	178,792	49	3,649	.81%
Unassigned .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
United States	14,575,898	3,242	4,498	19,987,563	6,032	3,313	100.00%

	1860			1900			% of all
	Population	Academies	1 to	Population	Academies	1 to	
New England	3,135,191	988	3,173	5,592,017	257	21,760	13.15%
Middle States	8,240,992	1,929	4,272	17,106,175	483	35,417	24.68%
THE SOUTH	5,579,980	2,445	2,282	19,934,465	639	31,196	32.67%
Western States	9,896,852	1,397	7,084	27,759,462	450	61,688	23.01%
Pacific States	513,883	118	4,355	2,888,751	112	25,792	5.72%
Unassigned	43,710	.....	.....	1,302,751	15	86,850	.76%
United States	27,410,608	6,877	3,986	74,583,621	1,956	38,131	100.00%

educable population, yet the "intellectually dead" and "densely ignorant" South, "at the opening of the war" (quoting the "Prize Essay") had an increase of 98.6 per cent. of academies for an increase of 62.7 per cent. of educable population. Again, however, we will leave the percentages and look at the proportions, the references being those already given:

TABLE "H"—ACADEMIES TO EDUCABLE POPULATION.

(See Table "H" on preceding page.)

Here we see that the South of 1840, with less than one-fourth of the educable population of the whole country, had 37.97 per cent. of the academies of the whole country, or one academy to every 2,786 of its educable population, while New England had 19.43 per cent. of the academies, or one to every 3,547 of its educable population, and the United States had one to every 4,498; that in 1850, the United States had one academy to every 3,313 of its educable population, and New England had one to every 2,770, while the South had one to every 2,281; that in 1860, the United States had one academy to every 3,986 of its educable population, and New England had one to every 3,173, yet the South had one to every 2,282; and that in 1900 the United States had one academy for every 38,131 of its educable population, and New England had one for every 21,760, while the South had one for every 31,196.

Again, we see that in the first decade (1840-1850), while the United States so increased the number of its academies that it reduced the ratio of academies to its educable population from 4,498 to 3,313, or 1,185 points, and New England reduced its ratio from 3,547 to 2,770, or 777 points, yet the South reduced its ratio from 2,786 to 2,281, or 505 points; likewise, that between 1850 and 1860, while the United States increased its ratio from 3,313 to 3,986, or 673 points, and New England increased its ratio from 2,770 to 3,173, or 403 points, yet the South increased its ratio from 2,281 to 2,282, or only one point—thereby nearly holding its own in spite of the general increase all over the country.

In the four decades ending 1900, the United States increased its ratio from 3,986 to 38,131, or 34,145 points,* and New England increased its ratio from 3,173 to 21,760 or 18,587 points, yet the wrecked and devastated South increased its ratio from 2,282 to 31,196, or only 28,914 points, although the slaves had been freed and the educable population had increased 257.3 per cent.

In the period from 1840 to 1860, while the United States decreased its ratio from 4,498 to 3,986, or 512 points, and New England decreased its ratio from 3,547 to 3,173, or 374 points, yet the "intellectually dead" and "densely ignorant" South, just here "at the opening of the war" (quoting the "Prize Essay"), decreased its ratio from 2,786 to 2,282, or 504 points.

* Note that during these decades the academy lost ground enormously all over the country, in spite of a large increase of population.

Furthermore, we see that the South, in 1840, had one academy for every 2,786 of its educable population; in 1850, one to every 2,281; in 1860, one to every 2,282; and also that at each of these dates the South had not only more academies to its educable population than any other section of the country, and the country as a whole, but also more than any other section or the country as a whole in 1900; in other words, the South of 1840 was more than sixty years ahead of its time so far as furnishing academies for its educable population was concerned.

We will now look into the matter of universities and colleges, the third general classification, and the institutions for higher education. Still using Table "D" for educable population, we get the following table from the references already given:

TABLE "I-J"—INCREASE OF COLLEGES.

(See Table "I-J" on following page.)

From Tables "D" and "I-J" we see that, while the United States had an increase of 35.3 per cent. of colleges for an increase of 37.1 per cent. of educable population between the years 1840 and 1850, and New England had an increase of 5.3 per cent. of colleges for an increase of 22.1 per cent. of educable population during this same period, yet the South had an increase of 44.4 per cent. of colleges for an increase of 30.2 per cent. of educable population; that between the years 1850 and 1860, while the United States had an increase of 100.0 per cent. of colleges for an increase of 37.1 per cent. of educable population, and New England had an increase of 4.7 per cent. of colleges for an increase of 14.9 per cent. of educable population, yet the South had an increase of 135.8 per cent. of colleges for an increase of 25.0 per cent. of educable population; and also that between the years 1860 and 1900, while the United States had an increase of 147.3 per cent. of colleges for an increase of 172.1 per cent. of educable population, and New England had an increase of 247.6 per cent. of colleges for an increase of 78.4 per cent. of educable population, yet the South, with all its poverty and desolation, had an increase of 72.2 per cent. of colleges for an increase of 257.3 per cent. of educable population, the freeing of the slaves making an abnormal increase.

We also note that at the close of the two decades, ending 1860, while the United States had an increase of 170.0 per cent. of colleges for an increase of 88.1 per cent. of educable population, and New England had an increase of 10.5 per cent. of colleges for an increase of 40.3 per cent. of educable population, yet the "intellectually dead" and "densely ignorant" South, "at the opening of the war," had an increase of 246.4 per cent. of colleges for an increase of 62.7 per cent. of educable population.

TABLE "I-J",—INCREASE OF COLLEGES.*

	1840 Colleges	1850 Colleges	1860 Colleges		1900 Colleges	
			Increase	Increase	Increase	Increase
New England	19	20	1 or 5.3%	1 or 4.7%	73	52 or 247.6%
Middle States	50	58	8 or 16.0%	1 or 1.7%	210	151 or 255.9%
THE SOUTH	56	81	25 or 44.4%	113 or 135.8%	334	140 or 72.2%
Western States	48	74	26 or 54.2%	103 or 139.2%	448	271 or 153.1%
Pacific States	..	..	.. or	15 or 1500.0%	61	45 or 280.1%
Unassigned	..	..	.. or	.. or	29	29 or
United States	173	234	61 or 35.3%	233 or 100.0%	1,155	688 or 147.3%

1840-1860 Colleges			Increase
New England	21	2 or 10.5%	
Middle States	59	9 or 18.0%	
THE SOUTH	194	138 or 246.4%	
Western States	177	129 or 268.7%	
Pacific States	16	16 or	
Unassigned	..	.. or	
United States	467	294 or 170.0%	

* "Colleges", used in the earlier censuses to include both universities and colleges, is used in the same sense in this discussion.

Now we will look at the subject from the point of view of proportions, the tables being based upon the references already given:

TABLE "K"—COLLEGES TO EDUCABLE POPULATION.

(See Table "K" on following page.)

Here we see that the South of 1840, with less than one-fourth of the educable population of the whole country, had 32.37 per cent. of the colleges of the whole country, or one college to every 61,255 of her educable population, while New England had one college to every 117,621 of her educable population, and the United States had one college to every 84,250 of her educable population; also that in 1850, the United States had one college to every 85,413 of its population, and New England had one to every 136,406, while the South had one to every 55,119; further, that in 1860, while the United States had one college for every 58,695 of its educable population, and New England had one for every 149,295, yet the South had one for every 28,763; and that in 1900, the United States had one college for every 64,575 of its educable population, and New England had one for every 76,603, while the South had one for every 59,684.

It will be seen that in the first decade (1840-1850), while the United States so increased the number of its colleges that it increased the ratio of colleges to its educable population from 84,250 to 85,413, or 1,163 points, and New England increased its ratio from 117,621 to 136,406, or 18,785 points, yet the South *decreased* its ratio from 61,255 to 55,119, or 6,136 points; so also between 1850 and 1860, while the United States decreased its ratio from 85,413 to 58,695, or 26,718 points, and New England increased its ratio from 136,406 to 149,295, or 12,889 points, yet the South *decreased* its ratio from 55,119 to 28,763, or 26,356 points.

In the period from 1840-1860, the United States decreased its ratio from 84,250 to 58,695, or 25,555 points, and New England increased its ratio from 117,621 to 149,295, or 31,674, yet the "intellectually dead" and "densely ignorant" South, "at the opening of the war," *decreased* its ratio from 61,255 to 28,763, or 32,492.

Furthermore, we see that the South in 1840, 1850 and 1860 had more colleges for its educable population than any other section and than the country as a whole at those dates, and more than the country as a whole in 1900; in other words, the South of 1840 was more than sixty years ahead of its time in the matter of furnishing colleges for the higher education of her educable population.

Inasmuch as the different sections of the country excelled in schools best adapted to their several characteristics—as the South had a smaller percentage of public schools, the lack of which was supplied by the tutor, the governess and the "home-school," but greatly excelled in the institutions of higher education—it seems that we shall get better results if we group the public schools, the academies and the colleges in a grand total as "educational institutions," and then analyze the situation. As usual, we use Table "D" for the increase of educable population, while Table "L" is based on the references given above:

TABLE "L"—INCREASE OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

(See Table "L" on following page.)

From Tables "D" and "L" it will be seen that, while the United States had an increase of 72.4 per cent. of educational institutions for an increase of 37.1 per cent. of educable population between 1840 and 1850, and New England had an increase of 13.8 per cent. of educational institutions for an increase of 22.1 per cent. of educable population, yet the South had an increase of 123.7 per cent. of educational institutions for an increase of 30.2 per cent. of educable population during that period; that between 1850 and 1860, while the United States had an increase of 32.1 per cent. of educational institutions for an increase of 37.1 per cent. of population, and New England had an increase of 5.3 of educational institutions for an increase of 14.9 of population, yet the South had an increase of 32.1 of educational institutions for an increase of 24.9 of population; and also that between the years 1860 and 1900, while the United States had an increase of 116.6 per cent. of educational institutions for an increase of 172.1 per cent. of population, and New England had a decrease of 9.9 per cent. of educational institutions for an increase of 78.4 per cent. of population, yet the battle-scarred, wrecked, "intellectually dead" and "densely ignorant" South had an increase of 219.5 per cent. of educational institutions for an increase of 257.3 per cent. of educable population—the freeing of the slaves making this increase greatly abnormal.

We also note that at the close of the two decades ending 1860, while the United States had an increase of 107.9 per cent. of educational institutions for an increase of 88.1 per cent. of educable population, and New England had an increase of 19.8 per cent. of educational institutions for an increase of 40.3 per cent. of educable population, yet the "intellectually dead" and "densely ignorant" South, just "at the opening of the war" (quoting our "Prize Essay") had an increase of 195.4 per cent. of educational institutions for an increase of 62.7 per cent. of educable population.

We will now look to the proportions for educational institutions, which are based upon the references already given:

TABLE "L,"—INCREASE OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

	1840	1850	1860	
	Ed. Inst.	Ed. Inst.	Increase	Increase
New England	13,978	15,910	1,932 or 13.8%	837 or 5.3%
Middle States	18,600	25,263	6,663 or 35.8%	1,689 or 6.7%
THE SOUTH	6,994	15,643	8,649 or 123.7%	5,016 or 52.1%
Western States	11,052	30,373	19,321 or 174.8%	19,388 or 63.8%
Pacific States .....	.....	68	68 or	1,037 or 1525.0%
Unassigned .....	.....	.....	..... or	 or
United States	50,624	87,257	36,633 or 72.4%	27,967 or 32.1%
	1900		1840-1860	
	Ed. Inst.	Increase*	Ed. Inst.	Increase
New England	15,088	1,659D or 9.9%D	16,747	2,769 or 19.8%
Middle States	32,645	5,693 or 21.1%	26,952	8,352 or 44.9%
THE SOUTH	75,995	45,336 or 219.5%	20,659	13,665 or 195.4%
Western States	107,904	58,143 or 116.9%	49,761	38,709 or 350.2%
Pacific States	9,501	8,396 or 759.8%	1,105	1,105 or
Unassigned	8,405	8,405 or .....	.....	..... or
United States	249,538	134,314 or 116.6%	115,224	64,600 or 107.9%

* "D" in increase column indicates decrease.

TABLE "M"—EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS TO EDUCABLE POPULATION.

(See Table "M" on following page.)

Here we find that the South of 1840, with less than one-fourth of the educable population of the whole country, had 13.82 per cent. of the educational institutions of the whole country, or one institution for every 490 of her educable population, while the United States had one institution for every 288 and New England had one institution for every 160; also that in 1850, the United States had one for every 229, and New England had one for every 171, while the South had one for every 285; furthermore, that in 1860 the United States had one for every 238, and New England had one for every 187, while the South had one for every 270; and that in 1900, the United States had one for every 299, and New England had one for every 371, while the South had one for every 262.

It will be seen further that, in the first decade (1840-1850), while the United States so increased the number of its educational institutions that it reduced its ratio of educational institutions to educable population from 288 to 229, or 59 points, and New England increased its ratio from 160 to 171, or 11 points, yet the South *decreased* its ratio from 490 to 285, or 205 points; also that, between the years 1850 and 1860, the United States increased its ratio from 229 to 238, or 9 points, and New England increased its ratio from 171 to 187, or 16 points, while the South *decreased* its ratio from 285 to 270, or 15 points.

Upon an examination of the data for the four decades ending 1900, we see that, the United States increased its ratio from 238 to 299, or 61 points, and New England increased its ratio from 187 to 371, or 184 points, while the wrecked and poverty-stricken South *decreased* its ratio from 270 to 262, or 8 points, in spite of the abnormal increase in educable population caused by the freeing of the slaves.

The next item is the two decades from 1840-1860. Here we see that, the United States decreased its ratio from 288 to 238, or 50 points, and New England increased its ratio from 160 to 187, or 17 points, yet this same "intellectually dead" and "densely ignorant" South "at the opening of the war," *decreased* its ratio from 490 to 270, or 220 points.

Furthermore, we see that the South of 1850 had one educational institution to every 285 of her educable population, and in 1860 one to every 270, while the United States in 1900 had one to every 299. In other words, the South of 1850 and 1860 had made better provision in the matter of furnishing educational institutions for its educable population than the United States had made in 1900, and so was better off in this respect in 1850 and 1860 than the United States was in 1900.

AND NOW TO SUMMARIZE—The South of 1860 was more than thirty years ahead of its time so far as supplying churches for its population was concerned. The South of 1860 was substantially as well off in the matter of supplying public schools to its educable population as the United States

TABLE "M"—EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS TO EDUCABLE POPULATION

1840				1850				1860					
	Population	Ed. Inst.	1 to	% of all	Population	Ed. Inst.	1 to	% of a		Population	Ed. Inst.	1 to	% of a
New England	2,234,799	13,978	160	27.61%	2,728,116	15,910	171	18.23	New England	3,135,191	16,747	187	6.05
Middle States	5,020,298	18,600	270	36.74%	6,528,407	25,263	258	28.95	Middle States	8,240,992	26,952	306	13.08
THE SOUTH	3,430,293	6,994	490	13.82%	4,464,651	15,643	285	17.93	THE SOUTH	5,579,980	20,659	270	30.45
Western States	3,890,508	11,052	352	21.83%	6,087,597	30,373	200	43.24	Western States	9,896,852	49,761	199	43.24
Pacific States	.....	.....	...	.....	178,792	68	2,628	3.81	Pacific States	513,883	11,105	465	3.81
Unassigned	.....	.....	---	---	.....	.....	....	....	Unassigned	43,710	.....	---	3.37
United States	14,575,898	50,624	288	100.00%	19,987,563	87,257	229	100.00	United States	27,410,608	115,224	238	100.00

was in 1900. The South of 1840 was more than sixty years ahead of its time so far as supplying academies for its educable population was concerned. The South of 1840 was more than sixty years ahead of its time so far as supplying colleges for its educable population was concerned. The South of 1850 and 1860 had made better provision of educational institutions for its educable population than the United States had made in 1900. And finally it will be noted that in substantially all of these decades the progress of the South in the matter of furnishing religious and educational institutions to its people was greater and more rapid (the increase of population considered) than that of the country as a whole or of any of the *settled* sections of it.

This is the condition of affairs that Miss Boyson and her learned judges were undertaking to describe when she said:

"The great religious and educational movements * * * * *
* * * * * SWEPT BY THEM UNHEEDED."

In view of these developments, one cannot but wonder whether Miss Boyson and her learned judges knew that *DeBow's Review* flourished in the South from 1846 to 1861, being revived elsewhere after the war, whether they ever heard of *The Southern Literary Messenger*, which ran from 1834 to 1864. An "intellectually dead" and "densely ignorant" people would hardly have supported these.

The following are some of the products of this "intellectually dead" and "densely ignorant" race:

Presidents—Harrison (William H.), Andrew Jackson, Jefferson, Andrew Johnson, Madison, Monroe, Polk, Taylor, Tyler and Washington.

Statesmen—The above and Calhoun, Clay, Jefferson Davis, the two Gadsden, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Marshall (jurist), Mason, Edmund Randolph, John Randolph, Peyton Randolph and Alexander H. Stephens.

Soldiers and Sailors—Beauregard, George Rogers Clark, "Bob" Evans, Farragut (Federal Navy), Forest, Sam Houston, Jackson, Albert Sidney Johnston, Joseph E. Johnston, Lee, Morgan, Wingfield Scott (U. S. Army) Admiral Semmes and George H. Thomas (Federal Army).

Literature and Journalism.—DeBow, Gildersleeve (scholar), Gessner Harrison (scholar), Paul Hamilton Hayne, James Barron Hope, Sidney Lanier, John B. Minor (in law), Poe, Father Ryan, Benjamin Symms (in education), John R. Thompson, Ticknor and Henry Timrod.

Explorers—William Clark and Meriwether Lewis.

Science—Audubon, DeBow (in Economics), Gatling, LeConte (in geology), Long (in anasthesia), Maury, McCormick, Ambrose Dudley Mann (in transportation), Rogers (in natural philosophy), Ruffin (in scientific agriculture), Sims (in surgery), and John Taylor of Virginia and James Mercer Garnett (in rural philosophy).*

Such were the people whom the essayist (an educator) and her judges (all of them educators and two of them distinguished *Southern* educators) have unhesitatingly and unqualifiedly branded as "densely ignorant," and "intellectually dead."

*Acknowledgment is hereby made to the *Manufacturer's Record*, of Baltimore, for having drawn liberally upon the list appearing in its issue of February 18, 1909, p. 47, where it deals with the same essay.

If our essayist and her learned and discriminating educator-judges have thus branded the South "at the opening of the war," what words have they held in reserve to describe the religious and educational conditions of these enlightened United States of America in the year of grace 1900?

As the "parallel" would be awkward to handle here, we are simply giving a series of quotations which utterly refute the "intellectually dead" quotation from the Boyson Essay. The Committee of Judges (the identical men) awarded the U. D. C. Prize of 1907 (the year before the Boyson Essay) to the essay of Prof. Herbert T. Coleman, entitled "The Status of Education in the South Prior to the War Between the States," which appeared in the *Confederate Veteran* of October, 1907, pp. 441-7, from which publication we make the following quotations:*

"Such differences as existed in the educational methods of the North and South were largely a matter of emphasis, the South paying relatively **more attention to higher education** and overlooking for a longer period than did many of the Northern States the important educational work which the individual commonwealth might legitimately and advantageously undertake."

"The South was clearly the pioneer in the matter of establishing State universities and in providing for their support from the public domain. Of the six institutions of this class founded before 1830, the South furnished five—the University of Georgia, established in 1785; the University of North Carolina, established in 1789; the University of Tennessee, established in 1794; the University of South Carolina, established in 1801; and the University of Virginia, established in 1819."

"The South was, however, on the whole far from niggardly in the support of her State institutions."

"A third distinguishing characteristic was the liberal character of the course of study in the State institutions."

"The various religious denominations in the South were far from inactive in the field of **higher education** during the first half of the nineteenth century." (Black ours.)

"Before leaving this general division of the subject, however, a brief mention should be made of the strong tendency among the wealthy families of the South to send their sons abroad for their college education."

"So strongly was university education rooted in Southern sentiment and practice that we find the Southern system of education mentioned by Southern writers as the university system as distinguished from the public school system which prevailed in the North. Some interesting statistics are given in *DeBow's Review*, in an article on "College Education North and South;" while during the fifties Maine could boast of one college student in 2,083 of population; New Hampshire, one in 1,162; Massachusetts, one in 994; Rhode Island, one in 955; Connecticut, one in 441; Vermont, one in 684; or an average for the New England States of one in 916. Virginia possessed one col-

*These seemingly too long quotations are necessary in order not to place Miss Boyson and her judges in an unfair light, which might result if short ones were made without connection or bearing.

lege student for every 666 of population; North Carolina, one for every 1,078; South Carolina, one for every 381; and Georgia, one for every 389; or a total average for the four oldest Southern States of one for every 545 of population. While these figures were used as weapons in a bitter controversy which has now happily given away before a feeling of mutual respect and an attitude of mutual helpfulness, they forcibly illustrate the position which the South has always maintained in reference to **university education.**" (Black ours.)

* * * * *

"A further analysis of the census returns mentioned shows the proportion of academy students to the population in the twelve following States to be as follows: Virginia, one in 98; North Carolina, one in 60; South Carolina, one in 36; Georgia, one in 57; Florida, one in 37; Alabama, one in 51; Louisiana, one in 47; Texas, one in 45; Mississippi, one in 44; Tennessee, one in 76; Kentucky, one in 59; Arkansas, one in 67. The total average for these States is one in 61, while the average for the six New England States is one in 65, and that of the remaining States of the Union (including New England) is one in 70. These statistics tend to reinforce statements already made and show that in the first half of the nineteenth century education, apart from the purely elementary phase of it, was fully as highly regulated in the Southern States as in the sister States of the North." (Black ours.)

* * * * *

"It would seem that in the field of secondary education the place of honor belonged to the private academies. Many of them were in the hands of men of high scholarship, devoted to their work and possessing singular gifts in inspiring the youth with high intellectual and moral ideals." (Black ours.)

* * * * *

"In regard to the character of these schools [ladies' schools], one writer has remarked: "The public sentiment did not favor schools of advanced grade for women. Reared in luxury and among a chivalric people, women received the most unbounded honor and even adulation. The bearing of men toward them was almost as extravagant as in mediaeval days. Their education was confined to the acquirement of certain accomplishments, such as music, painting, wax-working, and fancy needle-work."

* * * * *

"As early as the seventeenth century we find the philanthropic motive active in Virginia. In 1636 a school was opened in Elizabeth City county as the result of a bequest from Benjamin Symms of two hundred acres of land and eight cows. Some forty years later (1675) a school was founded in Newport county by Henry Peasley, 'who endowed it with six hundred acres, ten cows and a breeding mare'"

* * * * *

*While both do not come under the head of philanthropy, as set forth in Prof. Coleman's essay, it might not be out of place to mention the fact that the Virginia Company made provision for the establishment of a college or university at Henrico (near present Dutch Gap, Va.) as early as 1618 (See Neill's *Virginia Company of London*, 117, 137, 139, 147, 150, 152, 156, 184, 329; *Records of the Virginia Company* (Library of Congress), I, 220, 349; Stith's *Virginia*, 165), but it was abandoned on account of the massacre of 1622; also that Palmer projected and provided for a University of Virginia (*Academia Virginiensis et Oxoniensis*) in 1624, the institution to be located on Palmer's Island in the Susquehanna River, but, as is well known, the move came to nothing. (See Water's *Gleanings*, II, 982-3; *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XV, 304; Neill's *Virginia Vetusta*, 182-3; Neill's *Virginia Carolorum*, 27, 114; Neill's *London Company of Virginia*, 197,—M. P. R.)

"In fact, the private tutor has always been an important educational factor in the South, the isolation of many families and the general unwillingness to patronize the free schools, on account of the feeling that they were charity institutions, leading to this."

"The public school systems of the South as they exist at the present time have grown up since the war between the States. There have, however, been in the South almost from the earliest times far-sighted statesmen who have held firmly to the belief that the duty of the State in this regard was a large and imperative one. Among these, the first in importance, if not in time, was Thomas Jefferson. As early as 1779 he introduced into the Virginia Assembly a bill providing for the foundation of common schools for all free children, both male and female." (Black ours.)

"When we turn to a consideration of the financial provision for the support of public elementary education in the various States of the South, we find on the whole a commendable liberality."

"All these grants of State money—large considering the time and considering also the total wealth of the Commonwealths by which they were made—brought, however, inadequate and unsatisfactory results. Southern thinkers and writers were among the first to realize this fact and seek to determine its cause."

"A further fact which should not be overlooked is that in the life of the farm and the frontier the mastery of the rudiments of book learning was not held in as high esteem as the ability to handle the axe and the plow. Such a life might lead to a high percentage of illiteracy in the State, but it certainly would not prevent the development of a high degree of intelligence."

"There were not wanting, however, signs of an awakening to the needs of the situation. From 1850 onward serious efforts were made to remove the opprobrium which attached to the public school as an institution; and had it not been for the war between the States, which directed State and individual energies into other channels, the movement would doubtless in another decade have transformed the nature of popular education in the South."

The essay, from which these quotations are made, received the U. D. C. Prize in 1907. *One year later these same three judges awarded the prize to the Boyson Essay, which appeared in the Confederate Veteran of December, 1908, p. 657, in which we find the familiar phrase:*

"Intellectually the South was dead, etc."

It remains for our educator-judges to clear up the inconsistencies and to explain how they came to change their minds so radically upon so fundamental an educational fact in so short a while.

We will now examine other quotations from the Boyson Essay:

Miss Boyson quotes some rabid phrases from books which appeared immediately after the war and says:

"These histories abound in accounts of 'Rebel atrocities' and 'Northern patriotism,' of 'Yankee ingenuity,' and 'Rebel cunning.' Southern mistakes are instances of 'infatuated ignorance' and a Southern victory always a mystery. Lee is the **arch traitor** (Black ours), and every movement of his army is made synonymous with vandalism and lawlessness. (Most of these epi-

thets are borrowed from 'A History of the Civil War,' by John S. C. Abbott, and published in 1866.)"

So much for the quotation. The essayist then says, "All such accounts are *manifestly prejudiced and exaggerated*. Nevertheless they indicate what in essence at least was once a widely prevalent attitude. * * * When such a man could consent to lead in such a cause, there was but one name for his conduct." (Italics ours.) Then she continues:

"It is just here that the new estimate diverges from the old. It maintains that Lee's attitude toward the war was inevitable. It goes farther; it insists that any other attitude would have been treason to his convictions and to the social order of which he was the finest representative."

In spite of this, we find that further on in this *PRESENT Estimate* this same writer says:

"He [Lee] was a **traitor** in that he sacrificed all to aid the enemies of his country, 'but so were George Washington and John Hampden and William of Orange.' (C. F. Adams, in a speech 'Shall Cromwell Have a Statue?') * * * To do **now** what he [Lee] **did then** would be **treason**, for the Civil War has since then taught what was right in this regard." (Black ours.)

But how "treason," if "the matter of secession had *purposely* been left open by the framers of the constitution." (See below. Italics ours.)

It seems odd that this *Present Estimate* should revert to the language of the *old* estimates, which our essayist has just described as "manifestly prejudiced and exaggerated." The *old* estimate, so she says, classified Lee as *the arch traitor*. She makes him simply a common, ordinary, everyday *traitor*. It is amusing to note that the *new* estimate maintains that Lee's attitude toward the war was inevitable, yet this *Present Estimate* says: "To do *now* what he *did then* would be *treason*, for the *Civil War* has since then taught *what is right* in this regard." (Italics ours.)

She has just said that his "attitude was inevitable." Poor General Lee! Miss Boyson and her learned judges have placed him between the fires. They evidently adhere to the doctrine that "might makes right," even if two of them are *Southern*, though we can recall no amendment to the Constitution to uphold the theory that "the *Civil War* has since taught *what is right* in this regard." However, the seceding States were re-admitted to the Union only after they had incorporated in their constitutions of the seventies a clause repudiating secession,* the government thus inadvertently admitting that they *had the right*. How could they repudiate a right, unless they had it?

In order to enable her the more completely to prove General Lee a traitor, she calls to her aid Mr. C. F. Adams, who is of the opinion that George

**Charters and Constitutions*, 48, 79, 120, 347, 359, 769, 1082, 1095, 1124, 1137, 1247, 1419, 1436, 1646, 1801, 1819, 1836, 1953, 1994.

Washington, John Hampden and William of Orange were traitors, when he was discussing another subject. Mr. Adams' opinion of these gentlemen is wholly extraneous, and irrelevant and has absolutely no bearing upon the situation. General Lee's case must stand upon its own merits.

This is silly and weak and was evidently resorted to because she thought that no one would object to her calling Lee a traitor, so long as she placed Washington in the same category, but, as a matter of fact, she states unqualifiedly that both Lee and Washington *were traitors*. No "if" about it, but "so *were* George Washington, and John Hampden, and William of Orange."

QUOTATION No. 2.

"No State," said Mr. Lincoln, "can upon its own mere motion lawfully get out of the Union. * * * The Union is unbroken, and, to the extent of my ability, I shall take care * * * that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. (Hosmer's 'Appeal to Arms,' p. 15.) The same theme, union now and forever, kindled Webster's loftiest eloquence. His opponent in that famous controversy of ideals was the voice of the whole South."

It is barely possible that the essayist and her judges never read Mr. Webster's speech, made at Capon Springs, Va., in June, 1851, during the course of which he said:

"I have not hesitated to say, and I repeat it, that if the Northern States refuse, wilfully and deliberately, to carry into effect that part of the Constitution which respects the restoration of fugitive slaves, and Congress provides no remedy, **the South would no longer be bound to observe the compact.** [Immense applause.] A bargain cannot be broken on one side. I say to you, gentlemen, in Virginia, as I said on the shores of Lake Erie, and in the city of Boston, and as I may say again in that city or elsewhere in the North, that you in the South have as much right to **receive** your fugitive slaves as the North has to any of its rights and privileges of navigation and commerce. I desire to be understood here among you, and throughout the whole country, that in hopes, thoughts and feelings, I profess to be an American—altogether and nothing but an American, and that I am for the **Constitution** and the **whole Constitution.** [Long and continued cheering.]* (Black ours.)

QUOTATION NO. 3.

"In a country where the mass of the people accepted ready-made opinions, **misceptions** carried ideas forward and made **false maxims** seem working principles, so that before 1860 the people in general believed that they had a right to secede." (Black ours.)

Probably no people ever "accepted ready-made principles" less than did the people of the South, as may be seen from an examination of the publications of the day.

In regard to the statement "so that before 1860 the people in general believed that they had a right to secede," presumably as a result of the

*Curtis' *Life of Webster*, Vol. II, p. 519. It is interesting to note that Mr. Curtis was an eminent New York lawyer and legal writer, making a specialty of constitutional law and the *Life of Webster*, and that this work was published in 1870.

above *misconceptions* and *false maxims*, we would say that a study of the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention, its debates, and the lives of those who composed it, will show abundant evidence to the effect that, not only was the South's interpretation of 1860 the *same* as that of those *who made the Constitution*, but also that there would have been no United States at that time, had it been otherwise.

On this point, Gen. Francis A. Walker,* has this to say in his *Making of the Nation* (pp. 29-30.):

"On the subject of the relations of the several States to the United States, there was in the Convention [Constitutional] a great diversity of opinion; but, in a general way, three distinct views may be said to have been held. First, that the States **remained**, in spite of all that had been granted to the Revolutionary Congress for the sake of carrying on the war and in spite of all that had been conceded in the Articles of 1781, **sovereign and independent States of undiminished authority and competent at any time to resume the entire control of their own interests** by simply "denouncing" the Articles of Confederation. The second view was that which held that the course of events during the Revolution and the grants of power made to the Continental Congress and the Confederation of 1781, had established a nation which existed of its own right, which had the full constitutional authority, even though power were lacking to assert itself against individual States, were that necessary. * * * Between these two views which have been described was the opinion held, probably with better reason, which may be expressed in the language of Eldridge Gerry: 'We were neither the same nation nor different nations.'" (Black ours.)

Further on (p. 268), the same author says:

"It is perfectly true that the Convention of 1787 dodged the vital question of nationality. Had the Constitution contained an explicit declaration that, in any attempt of nullification or secession, the general government might raise the military force of the country, as was done in 1861, **that instrument would not have had a chance of ratification by the States.**" (Black ours.)

On this point, *Miss Boyson herself*, evidently forgetting the above quotation, says further on:

"But the matter of secession had **purposely** been left open by the framers of the Constitution, and in the minds of many sincere people, both North and South, it was **still a question.**" (Black ours.)

QUOTATION No. 4.

"He was a **traitor** in that he sacrificed all to aid the enemies of his country, 'but **so were** George Washington, John Hampden and William of Orange.' (C. F. Adams, in a speech 'Shall Cromwell Have a Statue?')" (Black ours.)

*Born in Boston; a brigadier-general in the Federal Army; a Federal office-holder, and president of Massachusetts Institute of Technology from 1881 until his death (1897).

A person can be a traitor either in the technical or in the infamous sense. So far as Lee's having been a traitor in the technical sense is concerned, we have seen that, had any other interpretation than that of Lee and the South in 1860 been explicitly declared in the Constitution, "that instrument would not have had a chance of ratification by the States." So far as his having been a traitor in the infamous sense of the word is concerned, such a thing is preposterous and beyond the pale of discussion.

How a "traitor" if "the matter of secession had *purposely* been left open by the framers of the constitution?" (Italics ours.)

QUOTATION No. 5.

"**Before long** we shall come to think of Lee as the English have come to think of Washington, whom they **lately** regarded as a **rebel**; for, indeed, he differed from the greater Washington only in choosing the **wrong side**." (Black ours.)

Before long, then, the essayist and her judges hope to relieve General Lee of the odium of being regarded as a *rebel*. There is but one conclusion—they at present regard him as a rebel, but prophesy that soon the stigma will have been removed. Very good, but how can this come to pass, for they say that he chose the "wrong side."?

But how a "rebel," if the matter of secession had *purposely* been left open by the framers of the constitution?" (Italics ours.)

QUOTATION No. 6.

"This **justification** of Lee's attitude toward the Union may be noted as the first and in some respects the **most important** aspect of the **new** estimate of him." (Black ours.)

This is probably the boldest bit of sheer nerve that the essayist and her judges have yet exhibited, for, while many have maintained that secession was taught at West Point, although a recent article seems to show that it was not, yet none will question that General Lee and all who were educated at West Point were taught, and sworn to uphold the Constitution of the United States, and, *according to this same essayist herself*, "the matter of secession had purposely been left open by the framers of the Constitution."

Why, then, should Miss Boyson and her judges feel called upon to offer any justification for his attitude, when the Constitution of the United States and the country's best constitutional lawyers and the *new* estimates of Lee have long since relieved them of the task?

QUOTATION No. 7.

Since the essayist broaches the subject, it may be well to note the attitude of the Federal authorities in regard to prisoners of war.

Although it was a notorious fact that the Confederacy was scarcely able to feed its men in the field, yet Secretary of War Stanton's General Order No. 207,* dated July 3, 1863, wiped out the cartel for the exchange of pris-

*This order, sometimes erroneously referred to as General Order No. 209, is to be found in the **Official Records of the War of the Rebellion**, Series II, Vol. 6. (Serial No. 119), p. 78-9.

oners which had been in effect for nearly a year, because of violations by both Federal and Confederate officers. But this attitude is more clearly illustrated by General Grant's order (from City Point, Va.) to General Butler,* under date of August 18th, 1864:

"* * * On the subject of exchange, however, I differ from General Hitchcock. It is hard on our men held in Southern prisons not to exchange them, but it is humanity to those left in the ranks to fight our battles. Every man we hold, when released on parole or otherwise, becomes an active soldier against us at once either directly or indirectly. If we commence a system of exchange which liberates all prisoners taken, we will have to fight on until the South is exterminated. If we hold those caught, they amount to no more than dead men. At this particular time to release all rebel prisoners would insure Sherman's defeat and would compromise our safety here."

QUOTATION No. 8.

"He had to struggle with ignorant and inferior assistants who often misunderstood his orders and often made his faith in them a cloak for carrying out their own designs."

Upon comparing a list of the *general* officers of the Confederate Army with *General Cullum's Biographical Register of the officers and graduates of the U. S. Military Academy* (1891), we find that of the 309 Brigadier Generals, 77 were graduates of West Point; of the 82 Major Generals, 39 were graduates of West Point; of the 19 Lieutenant Generals, 15 were graduates of West Point; of the 7 Generals (full rank), all were graduates of West Point, and General Lee, the Commander-in-Chief was a graduate and Superintendent of West Point.

In view of these facts, it seems odd that he should have had to "struggle with ignorant and inferior assistants." There must have been something radically wrong with West Point that it should have made "ignorant and inferior" officers of so many of the Southern cadets who were appointed to the Military Academy, for these were General Lee's "assistants." Incidentally, it is an interesting sidelight to note that General George H. Thomas, one of the best "fighting" generals in the Federal Army, was a son of the South and a product of the civilization of that day, as were also Wingfield Scott, and Farragut, but they gave their allegiance as they saw it—to the Union.

QUOTATION No. 9.

"But it is neither as the product of a civilization that is passed, **nor as a commander** that Lee will be given a permanent place. For neither as the exponent of a form of patriotism which the **results** of the war **have made treason**, nor as the leader of a lost cause could he attract anything but sentimental interest." (Black ours.)

From this, we can but conclude that the essayist and her judges hold that the "results" (defeat) made the South's position "treason," BUT *had*

*Official Records of the War of the Rebellion, Series II, Vol. 7 (Serial 120), pp. 606-7.

the South been victorious, there would have been *no treason* in her position, an odd doctrine of Constitutional law.

However, in regard to "But it is neither * * * that Lee will be given a permanent place." With characteristic abandon, Miss Boyson (a woman) and her judges (none of whom "saw service") unhesitatingly throw their lay opinions into the balance against the opinions of the trained soldiers of the world. Nor do our educator friends seem to remember that she has just said: "Yet Lee will *go down in history* as *one of the great generals*. His *skill as a strategist and a tactician*, together with his splendid audacity *is unsurpassed in all history*."

QUOTATION NO. 10.

"His real worth lies in the spirit of the man himself, the loftiness and dignity of his character, the richness of his soul."

Strangely enough, she is now describing the man who a few lines back was "a *traitor* in that he sacrificed all to aid the enemies of his country, but so were George Washington, etc."—"The exponent of a form of patriotism which the *results* of the war have made *treason*." (Italics ours.)

QUOTATION NO. 11.

But in the *same* paragraph with Quotation No. 9, above, we find this:

"Doubtless his fine presence and genial,* sunny manner cast an irresistible spell over all who came into personal contact with him, **but** for the historian of a later day to represent him as a man of stainless virtue is to **make him ridiculous**." (Black ours.)

What is it that Miss Boyson and her judges know that justifies them in saying that it would make General Lee "*ridiculous*" "to represent him as a man of stainless virtue"? This seems to be a fitting climax to this scandalous libel, to which two *Southern* educators gave their unqualified approval.

Such is the incongruous collection of contradictions, known as the Boyson Essay, to which three educators, and two of them learned and distinguished *Southern* educators, awarded the prize offered by the United Daughters of the Confederacy for an *historical* essay. It is said that there were several other essays in the contest. It is hard to realize that they could have been worse than this one, but if this be so, then there should have been no award at all, on the ground that the material offered did not justify an award.

So much for the essay. We will now turn our attention to an analysis of

*His manner was anything but **genial**, if Miss Boyson (the teacher of English) and her educator-judges have used that word in its generally accepted sense. He was almost severely quiet, dignified and reserved in manner.

ITS DEFENCE.

The *Confederate Veteran* of December, 1908, officially published the Boyson Essay. Immediately protests against the award began appearing on all sides, but it was not until the Resolutions of Protest by the Richmond (Va.) Chapter on January 28th that they "drew fire" from the judges.

The reply of the Carolina Judge appeared in the Richmond afternoon papers of February 3rd. which is the only form in which we have been able to secure it, so this must be accepted as a correct copy of his defense. However, we are more fortunate in the matter of the reply of the Virginia Judge, for after it had appeared in the newspapers, he re-published it, along with several favourable editorials, as a broadside, which was distributed from his office at Charlottesville, Va., a copy of which was sent to the writer (as well as to others) upon request being made for the same. In the preparation of this paper, only this broadside has been used for the reply of its author, in the hope that chance of error and misunderstanding be reduced to a minimum. The deferential, but disappointing, silence of the New York Judge prevents us from knowing what his opinion of the essay really is. It would be interesting to know whether he upholds his associates or based his award upon something more substantial.

THE NORTH CAROLINA JUDGE

regrets that none of the judges was notified of the intention of the Richmond Chapter to pass its resolutions, says that he examined the four essays on the first of June, 1908 "with the utmost care"; protests against fragmentary quotations and says:

"Her paper has many statements with which I do not agree. It contains not a few crudities of thought and expression. But in the range of reading shown in her bibliography, in her use of English, in her ability to weld thought with thought and paragraph with paragraph, in her sincerity of purpose, in her sense of historic proportion, in her noble admiration of Lee, and in the excellence of her style and substance as a whole, her paper is incomparably the best of those submitted." (Black ours.)

All of which may have been the case, yet the fact remains that this comparison with the other three essays submitted is hardly a good recommendation, judging from how poor they must have been, which seems to be conceded by all. The judge declines to accept as his own the historical opinions and statements set forth in the essay, yet he did not hesitate to give it the stamp of his approval, without the slightest protest.

He says:

"Had the paper attempted to prove or had it even remotely implied that Lee or the humblest soldier who followed him was a traitor, I should have cast her essay aside as unworthy of further reading." (Black ours.)

In spite of the doctrine laid down here, yet he tells us that he voted to award the prize to this essay, but it is doubtful if he can find many close readers of the essay who will agree with him that it does not "even

remotely imply that Lee or the humblest soldier who followed him was a traitor," for it says in so many words that "he was a traitor in that he sacrificed all to aid the enemies of his country, but *so were* George Washington, John Hampden, and William of Orange." Here is the bold and unqualified statement, the saving grace being that he was in good company, but certainly that made him none the less a traitor, for it specifically states that "*so were* George Washington and John Hampden and William of Orange," only placing Washington, Hampden and William of Orange in the same category, thanks to Mr. Adams. Following the contention of our Judges, we cannot but conclude that, if a tormented soul went to the nether world and there found the three gentlemen named, the climate would at once become more temperate.

THE DEFENCE OF THE VIRGINIA JUDGE.

He says:

"It would have been an act of courtesy which I would have greatly appreciated, if I had been consulted before these resolutions were passed and given to the American press."

Our gallant Virginia Judge forgets himself and intimates that the ladies of the Richmond Chapter were lacking in "courtesy," in that they did not wait to hear from him before passing their resolutions of protest and giving them to the press. As a matter of fact, Mr. Judge, the ladies had read enough to satisfy them that the time had come for them to act unless they wanted the seal of their approval to remain unquestioned upon the essay, "*Robert E. Lee—A Present Estimate.*" They had read the essay in the December, 1908, *Confederate Veteran* and, presuming that their judges had read it before awarding the prize, they very naturally concluded that the essay conformed to the opinions of these judges so far as the history covered was concerned, although it soon developed that the judges repudiated the statements of the essay as vehemently as did the Daughters. Had there been no protest, you may be sure that we would not have heard one word from the judges—they would have been glad enough to keep under cover—nor was there any reason why they should speak again, for they had had their say. And so the Boyson Essay would have gone out as officially endorsed by the United Daughters of the Confederacy, thanks to our learned judges.

Furthermore, why should the Judges have had any objection to giving these resolutions of protest to the press, if they were sure of their position?

QUOTATION NO. 2.

"I was ill at the time preparing to go abroad, but gave the papers as careful attention as I had the strength to give and after doing so voted to award the prize to the paper entitled "*Robert E. Lee,—A Present Estimate.*"

It will be noted that there is an absence of any statement to the effect that he had ever read the paper before voting to award the prize to it.

QUOTATION NO. 3.

"Instructions for the award of the prize, if any had ever been sent me, were not before my eyes at the time, but I understood that the judges were to consider literary merit, structural ability and general thoughtfulness, as well as **historical honesty** and fairness." (Black ours.)

If the Judges undertook to award the prize without any instructions on the subject—the imputation being that the Daughters were derelict in the matter of furnishing such instructions—then the Judges simply undertook to do a thing without knowing what they were trying to do. So far as understanding that literary merit, structural ability, etc., were to be considered is concerned, it is an accepted rule in such cases that if the essays are so nearly even and historically correct that a choice is well-nigh impossible, then it is proper to look to the "literary merit" and "structural ability" (a very eupheneous combination of phraseology, but without bearing upon this case) to enable the Judges to decide, but this last resort was manifestly unnecessary, since the North Carolina Judge says that it was "incomparably the best of those submitted," while the chairman of the Committee of Judges tells us that this essay "impressed me as pre-eminently the best of those submitted." Why, then, should it have been necessary to go outside of the primary essentials of an *historical* essay, if this essay was so vastly superior to all the rest. And it is a significant fact that neither the essayist, her judges, her admirers, nor any endorsing Chapter has had a *single word* to say in behalf of the history recorded in this *historical* essay.

QUOTATION NO. 4.

Again, "Inasmuch as the prize was for an essay and not a eulogy and had been established at the most cosmopolitan American University, where it might be competed for by young men and women of all sections and nations, I supposed that one would be expected to allow for wide differences in historical point of view."

All of which is true enough, but had it occurred to the Chairman of the Judges that allowing for "wide differences of historical point of view" hardly justifies the granting of an *historical* prize for distorted history or for a lack of history?

What the Daughters wanted was an historical essay—neither a eulogy, nor a random collection of the private opinions of the essayist and her learned Judges.

QUOTATION NO. 5.

"I did not consider it our duty to exclude any paper which had been submitted to us as eligible by the Daughters of the Confederacy, because it did not square with our historical point of view and I imagined my own to be essentially that of the Daughters, provided the paper was not malignant or vituperative, or meanly narrow or manifestly unjust."

Had it occurred to our honored Chairman that, had the Daughters knowingly submitted to them "malignant, etc," papers, they, the judges, would

have had less right to reject them on account of this "malignant"? Had our Judges suspected that the Daughters had already passed upon the papers before they were turned over to them to judge? What did the Judges think that they had been invited to act for, unless it were to use their judgment and discretion in judging the papers submitted to them in the manner in which historical papers are usually judged? But they undertook to make these confessedly erroneous statements and opinions the official position of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. It was supposed that these gentlemen would use more discrimination in the matter. They did not. That is where the trouble is.

QUOTATION NO. 6.

"Neither did I think that by our vote as judge in such a contest, we were to be put in the attitude of endorsing every word or opinion of the matter any more than a judge of debate, who must often, as a matter of duty, award the palm for the side contending for positions not held by the judges."

Very good, but have these Judges, when acting as judges of debate, been in the habit of "awarding the palm" to sides whose contentions were not supported by fact, logic or reasoning? Here the Judges have, by giving their approval to confessed historical errors of the most glaring kind, placed the United Daughters of the Confederacy in the position of officially approving their opinions (for such they must be, since they are not historical facts), which opinions or facts (whichever you wish to call them) the learned Chairman of the Judges immediately repudiates when they appear in print and are subjected to criticism.

QUOTATION NO. 7.

"I noted here and there sentences which were unwarranted generalizations, or which embodied what I thought unsound opinions and if conformity with my own thought had been the sole test, I should have blue-penciled them quickly, but I did not expect scientific accuracy or a perfect point of view from a youthful collegian, male or female. I saw no evidence of unworthiness of mind or purpose, but rather an illustration of how a young person, nourished on a certain brand of text-books, bred in another atmosphere of feeling and thinking, expresses herself in transition to a larger and juster point of view, and I thought that the ultimate purpose of the prize after all was to bring about such transition in such persons in the noblest possible way—that is through self-enlightenment.

He noted that it contained sentences which he thought embodied "unsound opinions," yet he gave it his hearty approval without the first sign of protest.

QUOTATION NO. 8.

"If it were not the purpose for the establishment of this prize in a Northern College by the Daughters of the Confederacy, what possible purpose could the Daughters have had? Under the circumstances, is it conceivable that a failure to conform to their views should operate as a total disqualification of this paper?"

In the quotations above, the thought of disqualification seems never to have occurred to the Judges. In view of this analysis, one may well question the wisdom of the establishment of the prize at all; however, it seems pertinent to suggest that, irrespective of the point of view, the *lack of history* is usually accepted as a fairly good reason for the disqualification of an *historical* essay. After this experience, one might not be surprised to hear that the Daughters of the Confederacy question the wisdom of the establishment of the prize.

QUOTATION NO. 9.

"If I had thought for one moment that this young woman meant to set up and defend the thesis that Robert E. Lee was a traitor, I should have characterized her paper as too malignant and too narrow for our consideration in a prize essay in such a competition at such a time as this."

Although the essayist opens her paper by disavowing any purpose to call Lee the "arch traitor," and leads us to believe that she is going to treat the subject in an unprecedentedly liberal-minded manner, yet she cannot control herself and says: "He was a *traitor* in that he sacrificed all to aid the enemies of his country, but so were George Washington, John Hampden and William of Orange." * * * "To do *now* what he *did then* would be *treason*, for the Civil War has *since* taught what was right in this regard." * * * "Before long we shall come to look upon Lee as the English have come to look upon Washington, whom they lately regarded as a *rebel*; for, indeed, he differed from the greater Washintgon in that he chose the *wrong side*."

* * * "For neither as the exponent of a form of patriotism which the *results* of the war *have made treason*, nor as the leader of a lost cause could he attract anything but sentimental interest."

It would be interesting to know what dictionary our distinguished Judge uses, and, if the essayist and her judges can get anything but *traitor* and *treason* out of these passages, at the same time maintaining the integrity of the English Language, they will be able to accomplish a good deal more than the customary usage of that language permits and more than their apologists have been able to accomplish for them.

QUOTATION NO. 10.

"Nowhere in this essay, in my judgment, can any fair interpretation discover a purpose to claim, or a statement to the effect that Robert E. Lee was a traitor in any odious sense. It is an axiom of interpretation, that it is fundamentally unfair and productive of wrong conclusions to judge of any literary production, by detached sentences taken from it, and even more unjust and confusing to cut in twain the sentences thus detached."

QUOTATION NO. 11.

"She, like Adams, is trying to reduce to an absurdity any contention of a mere technicalist or literalist, that Lee was a traitor by saying that he was **no more** of a traitor than George Washington, John Hampden or William of Orange. The deduction is plain. If Lee and Washington and Hampden and William of Orange were traitors, then treason sheds its ancient odium and shines forth as a thing glorious and we may all well strive to grow into the statue of traitors. This, at least, is my understanding of her purpose. As a matter of personal belief, I do not agree with Mr. Adams that Lee or any other Southern man was by the baldest technicality of definition a traitor." (Black ours.)

A moment ago, Mr. Judge, you agreed with Mr. Adams that Lee was a traitor, but "so *were* George Washington and Hampden and William of Orange" and consequently he was in good company; now you say that you "do not agree with Mr. Adams that Lee or any other Southern man was by the *baldest technicality* a traitor." How now? Above in the tenth quotation from your reply, you say that you cannot "discover a purpose to claim, or a statement to the effect that Robert E. Lee was a traitor in any odious sense." Here you say that you do not agree "that Lee or any other Southern man was by the *baldest technicality* of definition a traitor." We know of but these two kinds of traitor, the infamous and the technical. The essay unquestionably contains that word attributed to General Lee. You *deny* that he was a traitor in either the infamous or the technical sense. What kind of a traitor, then, is it that this essay calls General Lee? (*Italics ours*).

QUOTATION NO. 12.

"Miss Boyson's use of the phrase 'wrong side' at the end of the first paragraph quoted and 'the Civil War has since taught what was right in this regard,' in the same paragraph were infelicitous and jarring, but I came to the conclusion that she meant 'unsuccessful' in the one and in the other 'forever settled.'"

This would appear a queer and rather strained interpretation of the language, when we remember the elaborate use of the words "traitor," "rebel" and "treason" in connection with General Lee. These along with the "wrong side," could hardly be interpreted as "unsuccessful" without distorting the language.

Here, then, we see that this essay is given unqualified approval, although the Chairman of the Judges concedes that the quotations under consideration are open to almost any interpretation from "wrong side" to "unsuccessful," from treason to "forever settled." SHOULD SO WIDE A SCOPE OF INTERPRETATION HAVE RECEIVED THE STAMP OF UNQUALIFIED APPROVAL? It would hardly be a safe historical guide for an indiscriminating student of history.

QUOTATION NO. 13.

"And so I might go on quoting a hundred detached sentences of noble praise of Lee and the South, with here and there a sentence of criticism, not so much of General Lee, for I find no essential criticism of him, but rather of the conditions under which he worked."

Not so, for the Judges themselves have already placed the ban upon detached sentences. However, since he has suggested it, we might offer a few sentences of "noble praise of Lee and the South," *e. g.* "Intellectually the South was practically dead," "he was a traitor in that he sacrificed," etc., "To do now what he did then would be treason," etc.

QUOTATION NO. 14.

"Some of her critical opinions were inexact and irritating, but never to my thinking abusive or malicious. For instance, the assertion that most of the people of the South were densely ignorant was a foolish echo of an **erroneous view** current at one time in her section and in many Northern minds, based upon unanalyzed statistics of illiteracy, and the added statement that the South was intellectually dead, derived from the same misunderstanding, was as offensive to me as to my critics. But I do not think that such misstatements disqualified the paper." (Black ours.)

Explanations why the essayist was laboring under these delusions about conditions in the South are wholly irrelevant. If she still retained such ideas, granted by the Judge to be an *erroneous view*, it would not seem that her study of conditions in the South had sufficiently enlightened her upon the subject to justify the award of the prize to her, when it is known that the purpose of the prize was to encourage teachers to become *familiar* with these conditions.

It would be interesting to have a sample of what in our worthy Judge's opinion would justify the disqualification of an *historical* essay.

As to its "literary merit" and "structural ability":

Dr. Johnson says in the Preface to Latham's Edition of Shakespeare, "He has outlived his century, the term commonly fixed as the *test of literary merit*." Does our Judge pretend to say that this essay would even ever have been heard of, had it not been for the protests called forth by its glaring inaccuracies, much the less "outlived its century"?

So far as "structural ability" is concerned, it has been difficult to find any statement or opinion in the essay, except "intellectually the South was practically dead," etc., which is not contradicted by a statement or opinion in another part of it. Even General Lee to whom is applied the term "traitor" is a person, whose "real worth lies in the spirit of the man himself, the loftiness and dignity of his character, the richness of his soul," yet in the *very same* paragraph she says "but for the historian of a later day to represent him as a man of stainless character is to *make him ridiculous*." Wonder what she really does think of General Lee? Reference to quotations No. 1-11 from the essay, above, will illustrate its conspicuous *lack* of coherence and structural ability.

A manufacturing firm offers a prize of \$100 for the best formula of making paste. Many are submitted and the prize is awarded to one because it had "literary merit" and "structural ability." BUT THE PASTE WON'T STICK. Should there have been any award? Why not? For the elementary reason that the product lacks the fundamental, essential and basic quality of STICKING, and it is a well-known and accepted fact that paste, if worth anything, STICKS. For that reason, it was not deemed necessary to tell the judges that the paste to be made from the prize formula was expected to stick. So also, in this contest, it was presumed that it would not be necessary to impress upon our judges that an *historical* essay, to be worth anything, should contain HISTORY.

Again, when a student takes an examination on history and hands in a paper, say, with the clearness of Swift, the force of Dante, the elegance of Addison, the literary merit of Shakespeare and the structural ability of the logicians, but is LACKING IN CORRECT HISTORY, does any one pretend to say that this student is entitled to a "pass" on *history*?

Then finally: When an educational institution engages a Professor of History, does the head of that institution feel that he should go and tell this new Professor of History that he is *expected to teach History*, and *not* English Literature—*not* synthetical chemistry?

Some have argued that the Judges should have made a qualified award, pointing out the errors and other items to which they excepted, instead of making an unqualified award on the flimsy pretext of alleged literary merit and supposed structural ability. Result of this; Boyson Essay gets the prize just the same, although it be devoid of history. However, their exceptions would probably reject the better portion of the essay.

On this point, the Historian-General of the Daughters is of the opinion that no award should have been made at all, if the prize essay was the best of those submitted—all of the papers submitted being *disqualified* on the ground of *lack of history*: but that, so long as the award was made, Miss Boyson had a legal and a moral right to the prize of \$100, and it was the right and proper thing for the Daughters to pay it.

As a collection of pleasing platitudes and disconnected commonplaces, Miss Boyson's Essay seems to have taken high rank with her Judges and amongst lovers of light literature, but we are of the opinion that there is little likelihood that it will ever appeal strongly to the serious student of history.

We heartily agree with Mr. Eugene L. Didier, of Baltimore, when he says in his *The Poe Cult* (p. 283) that the Judges "either did not read the essay before awarding the prize, or they agreed with the writer of the essay who pronounced General Lee a "traitor." However, the Judges have removed all doubt on this score, for they give us to understand that they *did* read the essay first.

Therefore, we can but conclude that they concur in the opinions expressed, as they did not except to them. They have premeditatedly placed themselves in this awkward position. They must take the consequences.

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